UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

FORTIETH YEAR

2574th MEETING: 12 MARCH 1985

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2574)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The question of South Africa: Letter dated 28 February 1985 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16991)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2574th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 12 March 1985, at 4.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Blaise RABETAFIKA (Madagascar).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2574)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The question of South Africa:
   Letter dated 28 February 1985 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16991)

The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question of South Africa:
Letter dated 28 February 1985 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16991)

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at its 2571st meeting, I invite the representative of Guinea to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Democratic Yemen, South Africa, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Touré (Guinea) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. von Schirnding (South Africa), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Lweno (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have before them document S/17013/Rev.1, which contains the text of a revised draft resolution submitted by Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago.

3. I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of MADAGASCAR.

4. Since the entry into force of a so-called new constitution, the Pretoria authorities have been stepping up their delaying tactics to perpetuate the white minority's domination and power.

5. That is why the Pretoria régime, anxious to improve its image in the eyes of the international community and to break out of its isolation, announced a series of reforms which appeared to be in the interests of the black population and proposed to the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) the beginnings of a conditional dialogue. Regional bodies and municipal councils, elected by a small minority, have been set up in order to give the impression that black South Africans will be exercising their political rights through these new institutions. In the same way, it is intended to establish an "informal forum" which would enable blacks to discuss their political future. Another example of this was the decision to grant 16 ghettos their own police units, which would relieve white police officers of their increasingly discredited role in the alleged maintenance of order.

6. Finally, we must recall the recent offer to release Nelson Mandela and other South African political prisoners on the condition that they renounce violence as a political means, even though the United Nations, in many resolutions, has urged the Pretoria authorities to release without prior conditions all those imprisoned under the arbitrary State security laws and all those detained for their opposition to the *apartheid* régime.

7. Naturally, the black population and its leaders, the black trade unions and all opponents of *apartheid* have rejected these alleged reforms. Indeed, all these vague reformist gestures are designed only to strengthen the domination of white State power over the non-white majority, both in the political and economic spheres and in all other areas.

8. Thus, it is hardly surprising to see a strengthening of the black population's resistance to the oppressive *apartheid* régime. This resistance takes several forms. Schoolchildren continue to shun the teaching system imposed upon them; labour unions issue strike orders; and the action launched by the miners' unions on 5 and 6 November 1984 bears witness to the vitality of their movement. Ghetto dwellers refuse to be moved by force to "concentration camps" and rebel openly against the racist régime.

9. In the face of this determination of the population to fight injustice and inequality, the racist régime has unmasked itself and has begun a new escalation of repression. The police apparatus, already infamous for its blind massacres, no longer sufficed, and the South African Government called out the army to put down the rebellion of the defenceless inhabitants of Crossroads, killing some 20 victims and wounding 230.

10. The forced displacement of the inhabitants of the townships is part of the policy of bantustanization, whose ultimate goal is to prevent the formation of a South African nation, to dispossess the majority of their land, and to strengthen the political and economic domination of the white minority.

11. Worse still, on 18 February the racist authorities of South Africa, casting off their mask of peacefulness and new dialogue, arrested eight leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF). Those leaders have now joined their eight companions-in-struggle who have been languishing in gaol since August 1984. At the same time, labour union leaders, students and leaders of mass organizations have been detained. Sixteen of them have been charged with high treason and therefore are liable to the death penalty. Thus, almost 30 years after the notorious trials of South African patriots, the methods of the racist régime have scarcely changed.

12. The international community cannot remain indifferent to the dangerous developments in South Africa. In the face of the intransigence, cruelty and continuous brutality of the *apartheid* régime, we can only reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for liberation and renew our total support for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, under the leadership of its national liberation movement. It is encouraging to see that public opinion in the countries that are held to be allies of South Africa is becoming aware of the plight of the South African people and bringing pressure to bear on the leaders of those countries with a view to securing the effective implementation of United Nations resolutions designed to isolate South Africa.

13. My delegation is still convinced that the present situation in South Africa derives from the continued imposition of the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination by the South African minority régime, as well as from its contemptuous dismissal of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. The members of the Council were not fooled by the arrogant and hypocritical statement of the representative of South Africa [*2571st meeting*], who denied the justification for the agenda of the present meeting. The Pretoria agent even insulted the wisdom of the Council by his sly, underhand criticism of the countries sponsoring the draft resolution before the Council. But those countries have nothing to learn from the exponents of racial discrimination and oppression. If racist South Africa wishes to be readmitted to the comity of civilized nations, it must completely eliminate the practice of *apartheid*, which is a crime against mankind.

14. My delegation pays a tribute to the oppressed people of South Africa for their heroic resistance to the *apartheid* régime and reaffirms the legitimacy of that people's struggle to eradicate the *apartheid* system in order that a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa may become a reality and not just a hypothesis or a mirage.

15. I now resume my functions as PRESIDENT.

16. The representative of Guinea wishes to make a statement as Chairman of the Group of African States for the month of March, and I now call on him.

17. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): With the permission of the Council, we should like to extend to the Soviet delegation, on behalf of the Group of African States and on our own behalf, deep sympathy on the death of the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The death of Mr. Konstantin Chernenko is a great loss to the Soviet people and the peoples of the entire world. Africa has lost in Mr. Chernenko a friend in the African people's struggle against the policy of *apartheid* of the racist South African régime. We ask the Soviet delegation to be kind enough to extend to the family of the deceased and to the people and Government of the Soviet Union our deepest condolences.

18. Having said that, we wish at this stage, on behalf of the Group of African States, to thank the delegations that contributed, during the intensive consultations that took place following last Friday's meeting [*ibid.*] of the Council, to the revision of the draft resolution which we hope will be adopted unanimously by the Council. The unanimous adoption of the draft resolution by the Council will, we are sure, be a message reflecting the international community's indignation and its condemnation of the barbaric acts committed by the racist régime against the African majority and reaffirming the right of the people of South Africa to struggle by all means to regain their legitimate rights.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): It is my understanding that the Council is prepared to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution now before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

20. First, I shall call on members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

21. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): The fact that for the fourth time in seven months the Council is considering a draft resolution on South Africa reflects the turmoil which continues in that country. We have recorded the United Kingdom's views during the adoption of Council resolutions 554 (1984), 556 (1984) and 558 (1984). The further spate of deaths, injury and violence, this time focused on the community of Crossroads, has provoked uniform condemnation. Likewise, the continuing exclusion of black South Africans from political life, the denial to the large majority of the population of South

Africa of the civil and political rights which, in the democratic nations, we regard as fundamental, and the policy of forced removals are deplored throughout the world. No wonder there was widespread disappointment at the statement by the representative of South Africa. It is because the United Kingdom fully shares the concern about these events already expressed by other members of the Council that we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

22. At the same time, we in the United Kingdom have acknowledged that some highly significant developments are taking place in South Africa. It is impossible to tell where they will lead but, equally, it would be prejudicial to pretend that they are not happening. In his important speech of 25 January, the South African State President indicated greater flexibility and a commitment to a fuller dialogue between his Government and black opinion in South Africa. The Council should encourage dialogue between the South African Government and a fully representative cross-section of black South African opinion. The Council must not rule out peaceful change, but must press for the fundamental reforms which will be needed to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of South Africa's black majority. We therefore do not interpret the reference to the legitimacy of the struggle as relating to armed struggle or extending to the use of force.

23. My Government's concern about the recent arrest of leading members of the UDF, a non-violent organization, is a matter of public record and has been expressed directly to the South African Government. It would of course be wrong for the Council to prejudge the outcome of legal proceedings, or to take action which could have an adverse effect on those concerned. That is not the purpose of the draft resolution, which in its revised form simply appeals for the charges of high treason to be dropped.

24. In the belief that a message from a divided Council would have been counter-productive, my delegation has worked hard with other members to try to secure a consensus. While I must reiterate my Government's previous reservations about certain aspects of the draft resolution, including the tendency to exaggerate an already serious situation, I must also express our satisfaction that, thanks to the constructive spirit on all sides, a consensus has been achieved which reflects the broad concerns of the Council.

25. Like others who are looking for rapid and peaceful change in South Africa, the British Government hopes that the ideas outlined in President Botha's speech will be followed, at a very early date, by the implementation of major reforms; and that we shall forthwith see an end to violence and repression, and the urgent initiation of a genuine dialogue within South Africa.

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/17013/Rev.1 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 560 (1985)].

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to make statements after the voting.

28. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): The Government and the people of the United States share the deep sense of concern expressed by other members of this body in regard to a number of recent developments inside South Africa, in particular the continuing civil unrest in various parts of the country and the arrest of 16 opposition leaders on charges of high treason. We share also, therefore, in the general sentiments contained in the resolution we have just adopted and in the deep feelings of those who put it forward.

29. The view of the United States Government on the question of *apartheid* is very clear. We have stated it frequently, forcefully and at the highest level: we abhor *apartheid*. Institutionalized racial discrimination is contrary to those ideals which animate political and economic life in our country. It is contrary to everything our country stands for and believes in. We have made our feelings on *apartheid* known, moreover, not in rhetorical flourishes and by hurling insults and condemnations, but in direct and forceful discussions with the South African Government itself.

30. Our goal has been to promote reform in South Africa. We seek to encourage the transformation of South Africa into a society that provides equal opportunity for all its people—a society that provides all people the opportunity to live in dignity and to enjoy the full social, political and economic benefits of the land of their birth. We seek this transformation through peace, not through violence; through evolution, not revolution. We have committed ourselves and our influence to this endeavour.

31. The process of transformation—a transformation that can lead to a government fully representative of all South Africa's peoples and based on the consent of the governed—is a process in which all South Africans should be involved. The process is complex and is bound to be arduous. Our role is to encourage and, to the extent possible, to facilitate the process of change. It is our judgement that a genuine process of reform is under way in South Africa and that the Government of that country has made its decision to move away from *apartheid*. This has created a new dynamic of change. Further change is not only desirable, it is inevitable. Important decisions and commitments have already been made and we recognize these. At the same time, much more must be done.

32. It is our strongly held view that a dialogue among all South Africans is a key step—indeed, an essential step—in the process of reform. It is in this context that we deeply regret the arrest of 16 opposition leaders in South Africa and the decision to press charges of treason against those individuals. It is not for us to take a position on the validity of these charges, since as yet the trials have not begun and no evidence has been presented. There is a real

question, moreover, of the capacity of the United Nations to sit in judgement over the legal processes of a Member State. One is reminded of the saying about glass houses. Rather, our concern over the impending trials in South Africa stems not only from our strong commitment to human rights throughout the world but also from the fact that the very decision of the South African Government to seek these trials detracts from that Government's own stated commitment to seek a dialogue with black leaders. In the present circumstances, the trials are inopportune and are bound to detract from the success of this dialogue.

33. The continuing civil unrest in South Africa is also a matter of deep concern to the United States. Our sympathy of course goes out to the homeless, the jobless, to those unable to acquire an adequate education and to the other downtrodden elements of that society. In South Africa, as elsewhere, we recognize the need to remedy the injustices of the past and, especially, to put an end to those that continue. We can only reiterate our encouragement and our willingness and determination to help in any way we can. It is our deepest desire that the changes that must come, and will come, to South Africa be undertaken without recourse to further bloodshed, and that dialogue replace confrontation. We call on the Government of South Africa to move forward with all possible haste on the reforms it has outlined, to move forward with the upgrading of Crossroads and its transformation into a permanent residential area, to move forward to end all forced removals, to move forward with the expansion of residency rights for all its people and, indeed, to move forward towards the society of equal justice under law that we all wish to see.

34. Despite our strongly held views on the need for change in South Africa, there are specific formulations in the resolution which we have just adopted to which we must take some exception. In particular, we have objected to the prejudging of the judicial process in South Africa. We regret that the resolution neglected to call for observance of judicial due process, including such important elements as a speedy trial and access to legal counsel. We also regret deviations from language proper to a Security Council resolution.

35. In spite of these reservations, our strongly held views on the situation in South Africa have led us to join with others in consensus within the Council.

36. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): Permit me first of all to express the heartfelt sympathy and condolences of my delegation to the representative of the Soviet Union and his delegation on the sad passing away of Mr. Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. As our Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, stated in his message of condolence, President Chernenko dedicated his life to the welfare of his country and served the people of the Soviet Union from a young age in many different and responsible capacities. In the international field too, President Chernenko took many initiatives for peace and to contain the nuclear arms race. I should like to request the representative of the Soviet Union to convey our sentiments of sympathy and condolence to his Government and to the bereaved family.

37. Allow me also to take a moment to convey my gratitude to the many speakers here this morning and earlier this month who have made many kind references to my country and to me personally for my conduct of the presidency of the Council for the month of February. May I also take this opportunity to felicitate you, Mr. President, on your exemplary conduct of our proceedings and to renew to you our fullest support in the discharge of your onerous responsibilities.

38. The Council has just adopted resolution 560 (1985). It has done so unanimously. The sponsors of the resolution—Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago—feel gratified that the spirit of flexibility and accommodation displayed by them in agreeing to a number of amendments has helped secure unanimity in support for the text from members of the Council.

39. With this resolution the Council has sent a clear and unequivocal message to Pretoria—a message which reiterates the universal condemnation of the policies of the racist minority régime, a message which categorically affirms that the Council and the international community cannot and will not countenance the continued practice of *apartheid*, that it will not tolerate the killing of defenceless people, that opposition to and struggle against *apartheid* is not treason but, quite on the contrary, entirely legitimate, to be commended and deserving of support. The Council has called directly on South Africa to withdraw the charges of high treason against the UDF officials concerned and immediately and unconditionally to release them, as well as all political prisoners and detainees in South Africa.

40. To the many freedom-loving persons now languishing in South African prisons, the message is that they and the millions of oppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa are not forgotten in their plight and predicament. The Council's resolution is a beacon of hope and a manifestation of the international community's solidarity with and support for them in their noble cause and just struggle.

41. The arrogant statement of the representative of South Africa to which you, Mr. President, speaking as representative of Madagascar a few minutes ago, referred, deserves an appropriate rebuttal. The resolution now adopted by the Council represents just that.

42. The Council has spoken with one voice. The significance of this fact will, we are sure, not be lost on the Pretoria régime.

43. Mr. OLEANDROV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation expresses its deep thanks to the representative of Guinea, who spoke also as the Chairman of the Group of African States, and the representative of India, who

expressed their sympathy on the death of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko. We shall pass on these expressions of sympathy to the Soviet Government and to the family of Mr. Chernenko.

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Council has thus completed the present stage of its consideration of the agenda item before it.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Litho in United Nations, New York

00300

90-61439—June 1994—1,925